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THE CLÉOMADÈS, THE MÉLIACIN, AND THE
ARABIAN TALE OF THE "ENCHANTED
HORSE."

IN an earlier paper¹ I have tried to show that Geoffrey Chaucer knew the *Cléomadès*, a French romance of the thirteenth century written by Adenet le Roi. My evidence for this position was, very briefly: the wide popularity of the French poem; certain associations of Adenet with the English court; and the similarity in general and in many details between the Old French romance and the English fragment. In order that I may project my study against a sufficient background, I here present an account of the prose redactions of the *Cléomadès* and some observations of my own and of others about the relations between this romance and the *Méliacin* of Girard of Amiens. My discussion will show, in the first place, that we have, including the Squire's Tale, a fairly continuous chain of versions and editions of the *cheval de fust* story, extending from the thirteenth to the latter part of the eighteenth century and, in the second place, that we must probably allow for one or more literary forms of the story antedating the *Cléomadès*.

I.

I will begin with a French prose redaction without date but probably published about 1480 and printed at Lyons. It bears the title: *Cy commence le livre de Clamades, fils du roy d'Espagnol et de la belle Clarmonde, fille du roy Carmant*. In Lyons, again, appeared another quarto, dated 1488. There

¹ *Publs. of M. L. A.*, XIII, 346 ff.

were other adaptations published in Troyes and Paris, the exact number of which I have been unable to ascertain. De Tressan affirms that his version is founded upon "l'ancienne édition Française . . . du commencement du seizième siècle sans date, imprimée en caractères gothiques et fort rare." With the means at hand, I cannot determine de Tressan's original,—perhaps it was the Lyons edition assigned by Paris to 1480. Nor is it clear upon what was founded the redaction in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, February, 1785; although there are several points of likeness between this and the version of Mme. L. G. D. R., published in 1733. The preface to the 1785 version tells us nothing definite:—"Ce roman, dans l'origine, passe pour être espagnol; et c'est en cette qualité que Madame L. G. D. R. le publia en françois en 1733. Mais ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'il n'a point le goût du terroir, et qu'il ne présente nulle part le caractère de l'esprit castillan. Il n'en est pas moins attrayant par l'imagination, le merveilleux, et l'intérêt qui y regnent. Il ne lui manquoit que d'être écrit. On sait qu'un Roman, qui n'a que ce défaut, est à repaire. C'est un service que lui rendit un Amateur illustre, M. le Comte de Tressan, en 1777 (1^{er} vol. d'Avril)." The preface then goes on to say that another man of letters was busy at the same time with a similar task, but that he decided not to publish his redaction after de Tressan's had appeared. Certain persons, however, having read his manuscript and compared it with de Tressan's version, discovered that the two *rifacimenti* varied widely; then followed the edition of 1785.

The only Spanish text about which there seems to be any certainty is the prose version of the early years of the sixteenth century, which bore the title: *Historia del Cavallero Clamades y de la linda Claramonda*. Of this there were two editions: one at Burgos, 1521, 4°; the other, in the *Bibliothèque royale*, dated 1603, and bearing the inscription, *Alcala de Henarez, chez Juan Gracian*. We seem to have here the redaction referred to by de Tressan, where he says that the *Cléomadès* was translated into Spanish prose. De Tressan also mentions a

modern translation of the Spanish text in which the facts are altered. This is the stupid redaction of Madame Le Gendre de Richebourg, 1733, to which the form in the *Bibliothèque* for 1785 is related.¹

We have, then, so far as I have been able to discover, the following versions (or better redactions) of Adenet's poem:— 1) edition at Lyons, 1480 (?); 2) edition at Lyons, 1488; 3) an undetermined number of other French *rifacimenti*; 4) the Spanish prose text of the early sixteenth century in two extant editions, dated 1521 and 1603 respectively. Madame Le Gendre de Richebourg's edition, 1733, is apparently a reproduction of 4. To these two the form of the story in the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, 1785, is somehow related. Distinct from them and founded upon one of the French *rifacimenti* is the redaction of the Count de Tressan, published in the *Bibliothèque*, April, 1777.²

¹ *Avantures de Clamades et de Claramonda tirées de l'Espagnol, par Madame L. G. D. R., à Paris, chez Nyon fils, Quay de Conty, 1733. Avec Approbation et Privilège du Roi.*

² In the version of Mme. L. G. D. R., there is a dragon of cork instead of a horse of ebony; the three African kings constructed their gifts with the aid of a fairy. The dragon's body was covered with scales made of mother-of-pearl; its wings were made of feathers of the most beautiful birds of India; it was operated by steel pins. Prince Leopatris, Clarmondine's suitor, makes war upon the King of Salerno, while Clarmondine is in that king's household, being treated by Cléomadès—the physician. While Méniade is busy fighting, the lovers contrive to escape. Soaring over the opposed armies, they notice that Méniade and Leopatris are about to engage in single combat. Cléomadès calls to them and they give up the fight.

Similar to the above, as I have asserted, is the redaction in the *Bibliothèque* for 1785. This is obviously, however, an effort to make as much of a burlesque as possible:—The hen and chickens sing in concert as melodiously as nightingales. The silver statue with the trumpet is far more accomplished than its fellow in the other forms of the story. Shortly after it has been given to the king, it walks to an unfortunate little slave,—Don Diego Spadille by name,—pounces upon him, grasps him firmly, and then sounds the trumpet with fearful sound. This is enough to show the absurdly garbled form of the Cléomadès story that we find in the 1785 prose redaction.

I have been unable to consult any of the prose redactions except the two in the *Bibliothèque* and Mme. L. G. D. R.'s. For general information upon the

II.

Before discussing the relations of the *Cléomadès* to the *Méliacin* by Girard of Amiens and to the Arabian stories of the "Enchanted Horse," I shall have to give a summary of Adenet's poem:—

Ynabele, daughter of the King of Spain, is married to Marcadigas, son of Calvus, King of Sardinia. They have one son, Cléomadès, and three daughters, Elyador, Feniadissee, and Marine. Marcadigas, in the absence of his son, is, with great difficulty, defending his land against five kings, one of whom he has challenged to single combat. In the meantime, Cléomadès, hearing of his father's hard case, returns from France, is knighted at a festival, and enables Marcadigas to

prose versions of the *Cléomadès*, I am indebted to the *Histoire littéraire*, xx, 718. See, further, *Bibliothèque des Romans*, April, 1777, 168 ff.

It might be mentioned in this note that certain elements of the *Cléomadès* appear in the "Valentine and Orson," of which we have only a prose version to be dated, according to Gröber, some time after 1489. Of these may be mentioned the wooden horse of Pacolet, the names of Trompart and Esclarmonde, Esclarmonde's feigning madness in order to escape from the king of Inde-la-Major, and the lover's disguise as a physician. So far as we can discover, the *volksbuch*, or the lost poem upon which the *volksbuch* is founded, simply absorbed these particulars from the Old French romance. There seems to have been a metrical version of the Valentine and Orson in the first half of the fourteenth century. Fragments of a Dutch redaction are ascribed to the second half of the fourteenth century. In any case the lost French poem was not older than the *Cléomadès*. See Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 792 ff.; *Romania*, xxvii, 326; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xx, 679 ff.; Grässe, *Lehrbuch einer Literaturgeschichte*, II, 277–278; Grässe, *Trésor*, VI, 237–238 and VII, 486; Chauvin, *Wallonia*, Janvier-Février, 1898, 9. The writer in the *Histoire littéraire* speaks of V. and O. as a "roman qui, pour le dire en passant, n'est qu'une grossière contrefaçon du poème d'Adenès." On the other hand W. Seelman, *Valetin und Namelos*, LV–LVI: "Das Zauberpferd des Pacolet cap. 24 ff., ist dem Roman de Cléomadès entnommen, dessen Benutzung auch cap. 31–39 und 60 deutlich zeigen. Man darf diese Capitel eine contrefaçon grossière des Cléomadès nennen, mit diesem Ausdruck aber, wie die *Histoire littéraire de la France* 20, 679 f., tut und viele nachschreiben, den ganzen Roman de Valentin et Orson characterisiren zu wollen, würde ungerechtfertigt sein."

overcome the champions of the opposing side,—Garsianis, King of Portugal ; Bondart le Gris, King of Gascony ; Galdas des Mons, sire of Toulouse ; Agambart le Long, King of Aragon ; and Sormant le Rous, King of Galicia.

At this time there are in Africa three kings who have great riches ; their kingdoms are adjacent ; greatly they love one another. Each of them knows a great deal of “clergie,” necromancy, and “astronomie.” Two of them are seemly enough, but the third, named Crompart, is “lais, petis et boçus.” These three kings, having heard of the radiant beauty of the three Spanish princesses, hold a council, at which they decide to proceed in state to King Marcadigas and ask him for his daughters. Crompart, thinking uneasily of his ugliness, suggests that each of them should give the king “un jouel de très grant richece,” in order to predispose him in their favor.

“ Quant il se furent arréé
Après ce ont pou sejoiné.
Tant ont li uns l'autre atendu
Que ensamble sont revenu.”¹

The African kings bring their gifts to Marcadigas on his birthday. Melocandis brings a man of gold with a golden trumpet ; Baldigant, a hen with six chickens, all of gold and able to walk and sing ; Crompart, a horse of ebony that can travel as swiftly as an arrow shot from a bow. Marcadigas, well pleased with these gifts, offers his visitors anything they desire. They at once ask for the three princesses. The two older sisters are satisfied with their handsome suitors, Melocandis and Baldigant, but Marine is deeply distressed by the request of Crompart. The unhappy girl takes her trouble to her brother, Cléomadès, who promises to protect her from the displeasing suitor. In the meanwhile all the gifts are to be tested and Cléomadès is to try the horse.

When Cléomadès mounts the magic steed, the man of

¹ *Cléomadès*, ed. van Hasselt, 1843 ff.

gold vigorously sounds his trumpet, but it is to no purpose. Crompart goes in front of the horse, turns a little pin, and horse and rider are presently lost to sight. Crompart is then placed in confinement, and the nuptials of his brother kings are indefinitely postponed.

Cléomadès, borne quickly through the air, learns, in time, the mechanism of his wonderful horse. He descends upon the roof of a tower, passes through a trap-door, and enters an apartment in which he finds a table well supplied. After partaking of the food, he comes upon a "grant villain," and later, having crossed a corridor, enters a chamber where four maidens are asleep. The castle is Castle Noble, the apartments are those of the princess Clarmondine, and the maidens are the princess herself and her three attendants, Florete, Gaieté, and Lyadès. Cléomadès makes bold to kiss the princess; she awakens and asks him whether he is not Bleopatris, to whom her father has promised her. He says that he is, and she then asks him to withdraw while she dresses. Later, when the lovers are surprised by the girl's angry father, our resourceful hero is not found wanting. Every three years, he says, the persecuting fairy folk have him carried away on a wooden horse that takes him rapidly over the world, exposing him to serious dangers. Carmant, Clarmondine's father, sends to the roof of the tower for the strange device. Cléomadès, when later he is condemned to death, asks for the privilege of dying upon his horse. The request is granted and the hero makes good his escape.

After Cléomadès returns to Seville, the nuptials of his two older sisters are celebrated. Crompart, who has been banished the court, remains in the neighborhood attending the sick. He could not go home because he had committed certain crimes, which, according to the custom of his country, must be expiated by a seven years' exile.

Cléomadès, after an impatient stay at Seville, sets out once more on his magic horse for Castle Noble. Arriving there in the daytime, he hides until nightfall in a grove adjacent

to Clarmondine's apartments. He then enters her chamber, awakes her with two kisses, and tells her that he is Cléomadès, son of the King of Spain. As the sun is rising, Cléomadès and Clarmondine effect their escape, Cléomadès shouting to King Carmant that he is Marcadigas' son.

When the travellers reach Seville, Cléomadès leaves his *amie* in a garden just outside the city, while he goes to prepare a suitable reception for her. Crompart then meets with Clarmondine and, noticing his ebony horse, takes in the situation at a glance. Having persuaded the girl that he is her lover's emissary, sent to escort her to the court, he soars away with her. Clarmondine, who finds herself in a perilous situation, tells Crompart that she is a silk-weaver of Lombardy, engaged by Cléomadès to work for his sisters. While the two are resting in a meadow, Crompart is overcome by the hot sun, and Clarmondine, oppressed by sorrow and fatigue, falls asleep.

In this condition, the beautiful princess and her ugly abductor are found by Meniadus and his followers, while they are out hunting. That was a good flight of the hawk, exclaims the poet, that brought Meniadus to Clarmondine. The King of Salerno commands that Clarmondine shall be escorted to his palace with the greatest consideration, but that Crompart shall be thrown into prison. During the night the wicked King of Bugia expires and next morning Meniadus sues Clarmondine for her love. She obtains a respite of three months. When this period is almost at an end, she decides to feign madness, in order to escape the importunity of the King of Salerno.

In the meantime there is an unsuccessful search for Clarmondine at Seville. Cléomadès finds one of her gloves but no other trace of his lost mistress. He will search for her throughout the world. After traversing many countries, he comes to Greece, where there is a war in progress with Primonus, King of Chaldea. Our hero first helps the Greeks to conquer the Eastern king and then presses on through Sicily to Venice. Thence he travels by wild and unfrequented ways,

while at home his mother and sisters are distracted with sorrow and his father has died of grief. One night Cléomadès reaches the castle of Mount Estrais. After he has been well received, he is told that a strange custom prevails at that castle: every man entertained there must on the following morning either leave his arms and horse behind or singly engage two knights. Cléomadès, having chosen the latter alternative, fights the two knights and is victorious. Notwithstanding the ungenerous custom that they strive to maintain, his vanquished opponents appear to be courteous chevaliers. One of them, who has been badly wounded, is sorrowful because he will now be unable to go to the rescue of a damsel wrongfully accused. The maiden in the case is Lyadès, one of Clarmondine's attendants. She, together with her companions, has been charged with treason by Bleopatris, the disappointed suitor of the princess. Durbant and Sartant, the two knights against whom Cléomadès has contended, are in love with two of the accused damsels. Cléomadès promises to take the place of Sartant, the wounded knight.

With Durbant and the minstrel Pinchonnet, Cléomadès, disguised, sets out for the court of King Carmant. The party is first lodged at an inn, near Castle Noble, a location from which Cléomadès wishes to move because he cannot look with composure upon Clarmondine's home. Durbant accordingly finds new lodgings in Verde Coste, the house of Lyadès' father. In the tournament that follows, Cléomadès and Durbant successfully defend the damsels charged with treason, and then return with them to Verde Coste. There the girls discover the identity of Cléomadès. The hero, still accompanied by Pinchonnet, now takes the road to Rome, searching for his beloved through many countries until he reaches Salerno, the kingdom of Meniadus. Instead of asking toll, this ruler requires all comers to tell him news of the strange lands through which they have travelled.

When Cléomadès has reached Salerno, he goes to an inn. There he learns of Clarmondine's madness. Suspecting the true

nature of her malady, he obtains a false beard and the habit of a physician. Thus attired, he secures an interview with the king, as a result of which he is conducted to Clarmondine's apartment. Cléomadès, who has Clarmondine's glove filled with herbs, easily makes himself known to his beloved. She speedily shows marked symptoms of improvement and calls for her horse. The new physician advises that this harmless whim of his patient should be indulged; the horse is accordingly produced and the lovers make good their escape. As they soar away, Cléomadès calls out that he is the Prince of Spain and that his companion is Clarmondine, daughter of the King of Tuscany.

Pinchonnet now tells Meniadus the whole story of the adventures of Cléomadès and the fair Clarmondine. He then goes to Verde Coste and recounts to Lyadès all that had happened. Finally he takes his story to Carmant, who learns with joy that his daughter is safe, and to Durbant, to whom he makes known the strange knight's identity.

After stopping several times to rest by the way, Cléomadès and Clarmondine reach Seville in safety. There follows a magnificent feast to which almost everybody in the story is bidden, even the five kings conquered by Cléomadès and his father. Besides the weddings of Cléomadès, Melocandis, and Baldigant, the following nuptials are celebrated:—Meniadus marries Marine; Carmant marries Inabele. Further, Pinchonnet is knighted and Durbant and Sartant are made dukes.

The *Méliacin*, which closely resembles the poem just summarized, is, as a whole, still in MS., although excerpts have been published by Stengel¹ and Keller.² There are four extant MSS.³:—1455, 1589, 1633, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*;

¹ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, x, 460 ff.

² *Romvart*, 99 ff.

³ *Histoire littéraire*, xxxi, 171 ff.; for a minute study of MS. 1455 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, see:—*Über das Verhältniss der Handschrift D von Girard d'Amiens' cheval de fust* (no. 1455 des f. fr. der Pariser Nationalbibliothek) zu Adenet le Roi's *Cléomadès*, Albert Römermann, Greifswald, 1903 (*Inaugural-Dissertation*); also, Giulio Bertoni, *Sui manoscritti del "Méliacin" di Gerard d'Amien*, Halle, 1903; *Ztsch. f. roman. Philol.* xxvii, 616–621.

2757 in the *Bibliothèque Riccardienne*. MS. 1455 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* is the only one that calls for special comment. Here the first 2912 lines are taken from the *Cléomadès* to make good an imperfection at the beginning of the MS., the copyist making the necessary changes in proper names. The point of connection between the substituted portion and what was left of the *Méliacin*, is where the hero arrives for the first time at the house of his *amie*. Finding a table abundantly supplied, he satisfies his hunger. He then enters the room in which the giant is asleep and stops to look at him. Just here the copyist takes up the *Méliacin*. Since, however, the giant's bed is not described in the *Cléomadès* but is described in the *Méliacin*, the copyist had to insert a few lines of his own to bridge a slight gap. Moreover, he made the mistake of supposing that the first line of his imperfect manuscript referred to "léopards," instead of "cierges." It should be noted, too, that he condensed somewhat the excerpt from the *Cléomadès*, giving us 2400 lines instead of 2912. The meaning of all this is obvious:—Some copyist of the *Méliacin*, noting the close similarity between that poem and *Cléomadès*, undertook to supply from Adenet's poem certain deficiencies in a manuscript of Girard's.

The two poems are, indeed, in the main course of their narratives so closely similar that I shall not need here to summarize the *Méliacin*. There are, however, notable points of difference between them, which I shall indicate later. These have led doctors to disagree as to the true relations between the romances, although it may be said that the weight of authority favors the opinion that Girard's poem is not derived from Adenet's. Gröber affirms that the *Méliacin* is based upon a "blosse Nacherzählung" of the *Cléomadès*.¹ Chauvin,² Tobler,³ and Paris,⁴ on the other hand, think that the two poets were

¹ *Grundriss* II, 787.

² *Pacolet et les Mille et une Nuits*, Wallonia, Janvier-Février, 1898, 5 ff.

³ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI, 421 ff.

⁴ *Romania*, XXVII., 325 ff. (Review of Chauvin, *Pacolet et les Mille et une Nuits*.)

indebted to a common source, Chauvin holding that this was a Spanish poem, which was an amplification of a version contained in an old Spanish translation of the "Thousand and One Nights," and Paris that it was an abridged French form of a Spanish oral version. Referring to the differences between the romances, Chauvin observes:—"De ces différences, on peut conclure que Girard a suivi plus fidèlement son modèle; s'il avait seulement imité Adenet, il aurait bien pu modifier certains faits, mais non faire coïncider ces modifications avec la source même à laquelle Adenet avait puisé. Il a donc connu la même source qu'Adenet." Tobler's opinion, although not so positive, is similar. He disagrees with Michelant's view that Girard in the concluding verses¹ of his poem has taken too much credit unto himself. Michelant had gone so far as to say that the *Méliacin* "n'est autre que le roman de *Cléomadès*." Tobler, on the other hand, judging from the excerpts of the romance published by Stengel and Keller, is inclined to think that Girard's poem is probably an independent redaction of the source of the *Cléomadès*. In any case "von einfacher Aneignung fremden Gutes durch Girardin keine Rede sein kann."

¹ The words are:—

Gerardins d'Amiens qui plus n'a
oi de cest conte retraire,
n'i veult pas menconges atraire
ne chose dont il fust repris :
ainsi qu'il a le conte apris,
l'a rimé au mieux qu'il savoit
et s'amender riens i avoit,
il n'i faut que le commander,
que peu est chose ou amender. MSS. fr. 1589.

Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins, 178; *Der Roman von Escanor von Gerard von Amiens*, herausgegeben von Dr. H. Michelant, Tübingen, 1886, xxiv-xxv. Michelant writes: "Une troisième œuvre qu'il intitule *Méliacin* et *Célinde*, qui n'est autre que le roman de *Cléomadès* d'Adenet le Roi et qu'il s'attribue sans le moindre vergogne dans les vers suivants qui terminent le poème, (the verses given above). . . . Il faut convenir que Gérard ou Gérardin était doué d'une dose d'effronterie peu commune; il ne se gênait pas pour "menconges atraire" et il y a "où amender" pour rétablir la vérité."

Paris is also in favor of a common source: "Dans les deux poèmes français, et par conséquent dans leur source commune, ou trouve le récit d'un combat judiciaire, livré par le héros, qui n'est pas et ne pouvait pas être dans l'arabe: d'où il suit que la source commune de ces deux poèmes avait déjà modifié l'original et y avait introduit cet épisode. Mais s'en suit-il également, comme le pense M. Chauvin, que cette source fût un poème espagnol, poème dont il ne s'est d'ailleurs conservé aucune trace, et que ce poème fût lui-même emprunté à une traduction castillane, exécutée dès le XIII^e siècle et également perdue, des *Mille et une Nuits*? J'en doute. Tressan dit, il est vrai, avoir vu de Cléomadès 'un exemplaire en vers espagnols' dans la bibliothèque de M. de Paulmy; mais on connaît le peu de sûreté des allégations de Tressan, qui, deux lignes plus loin, parle de la 'traduction espagnole' du commencement du XVI^e siècle sans paraître se rendre compte que c'est une traduction du poème d'Adenet. Tressan, dit M. Chauvin, 'n'avait pas l'habitude, d'affirmer ce qui n'est pas'; peut-être ne l'affirmait-il pas sciemment, mais il était bien facile à tromper, et il paraît ici avoir pris pour un poème espagnol le poème d'Adenet, dont il existait en effet un exemplaire chez M. de Paulmy (aujourd'hui à l'Arsenal): *das kam ihm*, dirait-on en allemand, *so spanisch vor*. Il serait surprenant, quoi qu'en dise M. Chauvin, que ni de ce poème ni de la version supposée des *Mille et une Nuits* (quel trésor c'eût été pour les conteurs!) il ne nous fût resté aucune vestige, aucune mention."

The opinions of Tobler, Chauvin, and Paris about the relations between the Old French romances are based, in part, upon a comparison of the poems with the well-known Arabian Nights story of the "Enchanted Horse."¹ Of this tale there are three

¹ It has been often noted that the Arabian story is essentially the same as that of the romances. See, particularly, de Martonne, *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires de France*, x, 395-403 (1834); Keightley, *Tales and Popular Fictions*, 41 ff.; Loiseleur, *Les Mille et une Nuits (Edition du Panthéon littéraire)*, 610; Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, 1865, II, 491; Chauvin, *Wallonia, Janvier-Février*, 1898, p. 10.—van Hasselt, *Cléomadès*, I, xxii, curiously

Arabian versions :—1) Bulak (1297, II, 189–201), Beirut (III, 19–38), Bombay (II, 216–233); 2) Habicht (translated by Weil); 3) Galland. Of these 3 varies notably from the other two; 2 in many particulars varies from 1.¹

As Chauvin has noted² the Habicht version is nearer the Old French romances than the Bulak version is :—In Habicht and in the romances the visitors arrive on a feast-day, which in the Arabian tale is New Year's Day, and in the romances the king's birthday. The gifts in the romances are more nearly paralleled by those in Habicht. Again, in Habicht and in the romances we are told in the beginning that the disappointed suitor is ugly, whereas in Bulak this important detail does not appear until the story is well advanced. In Habicht and the

overlooking the Arabian story, writes : “Mais nous n'avons pu retrouver, ni dans le *Romancero* ni dans aucune autre source de l'ancienne littérature hispanique le moindre trace de l'action développée par le ménestrel brabançon.” Paris, too, had at first taken no notice of the Oriental tale, but he makes his excuses in reviewing Chauvin's article published in *Wallonia* ; see *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI, 421 ff.

¹ Chauvin (o. c. 12 ff.), thinks that the Habicht version is older than the Bulak. He bases this opinion upon the supposed inferiority in plan and execution of the latter form :—“Ainsi, bien que l'enchanteur qui a fabriqué le cheval soit fort laid, comme on l'apprend au cours du récit, cette circonstance ne semble pas avoir d'influence sur le refus qu'on lui fait de la main de la princesse et qu'on ne s'explique pas trop. Puis la princesse se montre fort peu réservée en se jetant dès l'abord au cou du prince sans aucune retenue. Enfin, on peut encore critiquer la fin de l'histoire de l'enchanteur ou, pour mieux dire, l'absence de conclusion en ce qui le concerne. En somme, la forme du conte dans l'édition de Boûlâq fait l'impression d'une rédaction assez gauche et plus fidèle pour les faits que pour les motifs qui les ont amenés.” On the other hand, Habicht “est plus ancienne que l'autre, puisqu'elle conserve, par exemple, la mention de la fête du nouvel an, que le rédacteur de l'édition de Boûlâq semble avoir supprimée par scrupule religieux.—D'autre part, elle lui est, littérairement, beaucoup supérieure. Son auteur est à coup sûr, un conteur habile, sachant sacrifier les données inutiles, s'attachant à présenter des motifs et à donner, à son récit, de la suite et de la cohésion. . . . D'abord sa perfection artistique nous prouve que c'est le *rifacimento* d'un homme de talent, tandis que la version de Boûlâq est le résumé d'un écrivain plus soucieux de conserver les faits qu'il a entendu conter que de concevoir et d'exécuter une œuvre vraiment littéraire.”

² *Wallonia*, Janvier-Février, 1898, 10 ff.

Old French poems, the king gives his daughter to the ugly suitor, she complains to her brother, and the prince then makes trial of the horse; in Bulak there is nothing about the princess' being granted to the objectionable suitor and then complaining to her brother. In Habicht and in the romances, once more, the hero pretends to be a suitor to whom the girl had been promised by her father; in Bulak the stranger,—a very violent stranger by the way—passes as that son of the King of India who has just sued for her hand and been rejected on account of his ugliness;—in her surprise over the beauty of the young man before her, she throws herself into his arms. The burning of incense, moreover, which appears in Bulak at the close of the story, has no place in Habicht and in the romances. Chauvin notes further that Habicht, although much nearer the romances than Bulak, does not accurately represent the hypothetical text known in the thirteenth century. In one regard Bulak seems nearer this assumed common source of the *Cléomadès* and *Méliacin* than Habicht does. According to Bulak the prince, having reached the country in which the princess is held captive, learns of his *amie* first from the people with whom he converses outside of the castle and then from the imprisoned magician. This duplication, it is pointed out, must have appeared in the text followed by Adenet and Girard, since the former selected the people's conversation, the latter, the revelations of the magician. One other point might be noted: The *Méliacin* represents the captured hero as offering to fight five knights. Here Girard comes nearer the Arabian versions than Adenet, whose hero asks for the privilege of dying upon his horse.

The Galland version of the "Enchanted Horse" varies from Bulak and Habicht in important particulars. The tale, with a number of others, is not contained in the three extant volumes of Galland's manuscript, which were deposited, after the death of that famous scholar, in the *Bibliothèque du roi*. Nor does the story as given by Galland appear in any of the Oriental texts that we now have. The assumption that its variations from the Bulak and Habicht versions might be due to Galland's

ingenuity is not only unlikely, in view of the variations themselves, but is in the main discredited by the manuscript of Galland's diary. We read there under date of Monday, March 25th, 1709 : " Le matin j'allai voir M. Paul Lucas qui estoit sur le point de sortir. Je m'arrestai avec M. Hanna, Maronite d'Halep, qu'il avoit amené d'Halep ; et M. Hanna [me conta] quelques contes Arabes fort beaux, qui [*sic*] me promit de les mettre par écrit, pour me les communiquer." Further under date of Monday, May 13th, 1709 : " Le Maronite Hanna me raconta ce conte arabe: Dans une Feste publique qui des plus habiles tant du pays que des estrangers faisoient [voir ?] au Roy plusieurs sortes de raretez, un Indien lui presenta un cheval de bois, etc."¹

During, then, the first month of the year 1709, a Maronite Christian from Aleppo, named Hannâ, who had accompanied to Paris the celebrated traveller, Paul Lucas, communicated to Galland several stories,—among them the history of the Wonderful Lamp, Bâbâ 'Abdallah, Sidî Noûmân, the Enchanted Horse, Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Paribânnoû, etc. Zotenberg, after an examination of the manuscript, thinks that we are justified in believing that the circumstantial analyses, traced in Galland's diary with a rapid hand, are faithful and in part literal reproductions of the narratives told him. Such is the channel, according to Zotenberg, through which these famous stories have reached the Occident. One important question, now, arises : What is their source ? Evidently the Maronite had not invented them, and Zotenberg is persuaded that the stories, as told, were not entirely improvised. The Oriental probably had in his possession the text, a partial copy of which he communicated to Galland, and the whole of which has now disappeared.

The testimony furnished by Galland's diary seems, then, to

¹ These excerpts from Galland's diary may be found in Zotenberg, Hermann, *Histoire d'Ala al-Din ou La lampe merveilleuse. Texte arabe publié, avec une notice sur quelques manuscrits des Mille et une nuits*, Paris, 1888.

warrant a recognition of Galland's version as a true folk-tale variant of the tale of the "Enchanted Horse." The fact that the only extant record of it belongs to the early part of the eighteenth century does not mean that the form is comparatively modern. Such evidence is neither here nor there in an effort to determine the antiquity of any folk-tale. So far as one can see, the story told Galland by his entertaining Oriental friend might be just as old as the versions that I have called *Habicht* and *Bulak*. If we ask the Galland version to speak for itself, the answer must be that its comparative simplicity, its avoidance of duplication, points to an early version of which *Bulak* and *Habicht* represent later stages. In any case, whether old or young, this valuable variant of the tale of the "Enchanted Horse" deserves our attention.

The beginning of the Galland version differs notably from what we find in *Bulak* and *Habicht*: On the *Novrouz*, which is the first of the year and of spring, the solemn feast was celebrated at the court of *Schiraz*. After many ingenious artisans had given gifts to the king and received their rewards, the assembly was about to break up. Then appeared an Indian with an artificial horse richly caparisoned and to all appearances a horse of flesh and blood. The visitor said that his horse would soar through the air, swiftly transporting its rider to distant parts. Wishing to have some proof of this, the king asks the Indian to go to a distant mountain and return with the branch of a palm-tree. The owner of the horse turns a pin, flies away, and soon returns with the branch. The king now offers to buy the wonderful steed. The Indian will give it up only in return for the king's daughter; he himself had acquired possession of it by giving his daughter to the maker and by promising at the same time never to sell it. The courtiers laugh at the Indian's insolent proposition and prince *Firouz Schah* is especially indignant. The young man, undertaking to test the horse, mounts it and turns the fatal pin.—The rest of the Galland version does not differ notably from the others except for the episode of the prince's first visit to his

amie. In Bulak, Habicht, and the romances, this is unsuccessful and the hero goes back later to get his beloved. In Galland, the prince, after a long sojourn with the princess of Bengal, which is suggestive of fairy-mistress stories, brings his bride safely back to Persia. Both in the matter of the gifts, then, and in the incident of the hero's visit to the heroine, the Galland version exhibits greater simplicity than the other forms of the story.¹

From the comparison given above, it appears that, of the three Arabian versions of the "Enchanted Horse" story, Habicht and Bulak are the more important in an investigation of the question immediately before us; and of these Habicht is somewhat more significant than Bulak. We are now prepared to ask: 1) What was the source of the *Cléomadès*? 2) Was the source of the *Méliacin* the same as that of the *Cléomadès*, or was the former romance derived from the latter? It is more convenient to treat the second problem first.

The weight of authority I have shown to be in favor of a common source for the *Cléomadès* and the *Méliacin*. For one thing, as I have said, the romances differ in important particulars. The names are not the same in a single instance; the scene of the *Méliacin* is laid in Asia, instead of Spain; the three visitors to the king of the *Grande Ermenie* are clerks, whereas in the *Cléomadès* they are kings. Much more important than these differences in detail are many divergencies in the incidents. *Méliacin*, when taken captive by Celinde's father, asks for his horse, not that he might die upon its back, but that he might bravely contend against five warriors. Instead of the contest at the castle of the discourteous custom, the *Méliacin* tells of the

¹ The form of the story, exactly as it is found in the MS. of Galland's diary, I have obtained through the kindness of Dr. C. M. Underwood, Jr. The copying was done under Dr. Underwood's special supervision. It appears from this copy that the story as we find it in Galland's edition of the Arabian Nights is in all essentials the story told him by the Maronite Christian. For a version of the "Enchanted Horse" story recorded very recently, see *Indian Fairy Tales*, Mark Thornhill, London, 1888; 108 ff.

hero's giving battle to a giant Robéron. Moreover, there is in the *Méliacin* a long episode following the defence of the accused damsels that is not paralleled in the *Cléomadès*:—Sabel, the rival suitor for Célinde's love, laid an ambuscade upon the road by which Méliacin was returning after his successful defense of Célinde's maids-in-waiting. In the fighting that follows, Sabel is taken prisoner. Later, Sabel's father, Natalus, King of Serre, besieges the castle in which the hero has taken refuge. The account of the war that follows extends over many thousand lines. At length Méliacin is taken prisoner and condemned to death; but with the help of the châtelain's wife, he effects his escape.

When these differences are considered in connection with the relation between the French romances and the Arabian story, one can hardly believe that Girard's poem is derived from Adenet's. The relation I speak of is this: in two places where the *Méliacin* differs from the *Cléomadès*, it agrees with the Arabian version. The first incident is the trial by combat proposed by the hero when he is captured by the girl's father: in the *Méliacin* he would justify himself in a contest against five knights, and in the Arabian story he would fight the king or his whole army. The second incident is the imprisonment of the hero beneath the cell in which the ugly suitor is confined.

These are small points. They are not of a kind to modify the structure of the story or to deflect its course. But that is not the question. If, indeed, these points of difference should suit some novel conception of the story, they would be for the problem before us of less importance; because in that case they might easily have originated independently. It is rather the little turn or incident,—some ear-mark, so to speak—nothing vital to any original reconstruction of the story—that helps the investigator to detect indebtedness. And such we have here. What is more, the *Cléomadès* in the particulars noted is better than the *Méliacin* and the Arabian story. It is more reasonable, less awkward. This is certainly true in regard to the second incident I have mentioned. From the point of view of narra-

tive art it is obviously better to kill Clamazart or Crompart soon after the heroine is rescued from him. At any rate, is it likely that, if he had been dead in Girard's source, he would have been revived by that poet for the sake of so awkward a device as we find in the *Méliacin*?

It appears, then, that the Old French romances are sufficiently alike to warrant the inference that one is derived from the other or that they go back to a common source. The *Cléomadès* is certainly not derived from the *Méliacin*, because the latter was not written until after Adenet's poem. The *Cléomadès* was written between 1275 and 1283. The first of these two dates is that of the return to France of Blanche, widow of the Infanta of Castile, bringing with her presumably the story of the *cheval de fust*; the second marks the death of King Philip, husband of that Marie, to whom Adenet near the end of his romance alludes as Queen of France. The *Méliacin*, according to Paris,¹ seems to have been written between 1285 and 1291. Paris finds his reasons for this assignment in the miniatures found in mss. 1633 and 1589. One of the persons in the group there represented is apparently King Philip the Fair, who came to the throne in 1285, and the other, the Countess d'Alençon who was dead in 1291. Such evidence seems to show that the *Cléomadès* is not derived from the *Méliacin*. Nor does it seem likely from what I have said above, that the *Méliacin* is derived from the *Cléomadès*. The conclusion at which we arrive, then, in the light of the similarity of the two romances, is that they go back to a common source.

A further question is: What is this common source? Tressan, in his introduction to his prose version of the romance writes: "Le roman de *Cléomadès* est très ancien; j'en ai vu un exemplaire en vers espagnols dans la bibliothèque d'un savant, qui fait le meilleur usage des Trésors qu'il a rassemblés."² Paris, as I have pointed out, rejects de Tressan's testi-

¹ *Histoire littéraire*, xxxi, 190-191.

² *Bibliothèque des Romans*, April, 1777.

mony. Chauvin, on the other hand, accepts it: "Malgré les circonlocutions énigmatiques dont de Tressan aime à se servir, comme on le faisait de son temps par horreur pour les renseignements précis, il faut reconnaître dans le savant qu'il cite de Paulmy, dont la bibliothèque est devenue celle de l'Arsenal. Peut-on rejeter ce témoignage si précis au sujet de l'existence du poème espagnol? Nous ne le pensons pas, car de Tressan n'avait pas l'habitude d'affirmer ce qui n'est pas et on se demande, d'ailleurs, quel intérêt, quel motif il aurait pu avoir ici pour ne pas dire la vérité. Et qu'on n'objecte pas les infidélités dont il est contumier dans ses résumés; en cela, il était de son temps et de son pays, où, sous prétexte d'accommodation au goût français, on se faisait un vrai devoir de mutiler les œuvres littéraires anciennes ou étrangères."

Assuming that a lost Spanish poem was the common source of the *Cléomadès* and the *Méliacin*, Chauvin indicates that this poem must have included the judicial combat in which the hero of each romance engages for the sake of certain attendants of the heroine. Since this episode appears in none of the Arabian versions, it is clear that the Spanish poem was not a translation pure and simple of the Arabian tale; it was already a *rifacimento*. Besides, this *rifacimento*,—still following Chauvin,—presupposes a previous translation of the Arabian story into Spanish, because the exact reproduction of so many details points to a written source rather than a story known to the poet only by oral tradition. Chauvin further supposes, as we have seen, that this source was contained in a Spanish version of the *Thousand and One Nights*. He calls attention to the obvious facts that communication between the Mohammedan and Christian civilizations was largely by way of Spain and that an extraordinary amount of early Spanish literature has undoubtedly perished.¹

¹ For this and other references to Chauvin's discussion, see *Wallonia*, Janvier-Février, 1898; especially pp. 18-19. In regard to Chauvin's hypothetical Arabian Nights in Spanish, see, René Basset, *Revue des traditions populaires*, XIII, 283-285; consult further *Revue Bibliog. belge*, x, 287; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1898; *Luzac's Oriental Lists*, ix, 92.

The rather good case for the lost Spanish poem is materially strengthened by further evidence. Among Adenet's distinguished friends were: Queen Marie, by whose family he had been notably favored; Blanche of France, the king's sister and after 1275 widow of Ferdinand of Cerda, infanta of Castile; Robert II, count of Artois and nephew of Philip the Bold, and Mahaut, Robert's daughter. All of these persons are associated with Adenet's best known poem, the *Cléomadès*. The poet himself tells us the occasion of his work:—

“ Je m'esmay forment de l'emprise
 Comment l'aie bien à chief mise ;
 Mais ci me fait reconforter
 Que me daignierent commander
 Que je ceste estoire entendisse
 Et à rimer l'entrepreïsse
 Deux dames en cui maint la flour
 De sens, de biauté, de valour.”¹

The poet will not reveal the names of the ladies for fear of displeasing them:—

“ Leur nons ne vueil en apert dire ;
 Car leur pais aim et dont leur ire,
 Si que bien sai que je morroie
 De duel, se fait ne dit avoie
 Riens fors leur plaisir et leur gré.
 Pour ce seront leur non nommé,
 Se je puis, si couvertement
 K'entendre ne puissent la gent
 Les noms d'eles, quand les liront,
 S'on ne leur monstre où li non sont.”²

Later in the form of an acrostic the names are given: La Roiine de France, Marie, and Madame Blanche.³

One more passage:—

“ Qui de ceste estoire vorra
 Avant savoir, il convenra
 Que il la matière tant quiere
 Que il la truist, se il l'a chiere ;
 Car les dames qui m'en conterent

¹ 17 ff.

² 25 ff.

³ 18531 ff.

Ce qu'en ai dit, n'en deviserent
 Fors tant que dit vous en ai ci.
 Dieu de lor commant moult merci." ¹

There is some danger, to be sure, of putting too fine a point upon the poet's words; and yet this testimony gives us about as strong evidence as we can expect to find for the position that Adenet first heard the *Cléomadès* story from his royal friends. More particularly we have good reason to suppose that Blanche, widow of the Infanta of Castile, whose nine years sojourn at the Spanish court had given her ample opportunity to learn something of Spanish literature, communicated to Adenet the tale of the *cheval de fust*. This contention is supported by the evidence of a miniature which heads the ms. in the Arsenal,—conjecturally identified by van Hasselt with the very copy presented by Adenet to Robert II, Count of Artois. The miniature represents the Queen of France, reclining upon a couch of state, her left hand supporting her head, her right holding a flower. Beside her are two ladies seated upon cushions: one is Blanche, daughter of St. Louis; the other Mahaut, daughter of Count Robert II. These identifications are made on the evidence of the different devices upon the dresses of the ladies. Blanche is pictured with her hand raised in the attitude of one speaking, and the queen and Mahaut are apparently giving profound attention to her words. Adenet, half-kneeling before the couch of the queen and to be recognized by the rebeck upon his knee and the minstrel's crown upon his head, seems to follow with deep interest the story of Blanche. Such evidence as this miniature furnishes certainly strengthens the antecedent probability that Adenet received from the widow of the Infanta of Castile the story of his most famous poem.

When we scrutinize all of this evidence, we can easily believe that there was a Spanish version of the *cheval de fust* story in one form or another. That the tale is Oriental is beyond question, and no one will deny that a great body of

¹ 18519 ff.

Eastern, especially Arabic, stories found their way into Spain. To suppose that our poet fashioned a folk-tale into a very highly finished romance would be to invest folk-lore with a dignity that it in all probability did not have in the thirteenth century. The attitude of writers of romances toward the *märchen* has not, I think, been very closely defined; but the assumption that a poet, such as Adenet, would have used such material pure and simple as the foundation of his romance is at least open to serious doubt. The probabilities clearly point to a more or less literary form with which Blanche of Castile was acquainted. Paris' *argumentum ex silentio* hardly carries conviction. If we endorse what seems to me the more reasonable contention of Chauvin, we shall suppose that there was a Spanish literary version of the *cheval de fust* story which went back—by several stages perhaps—to the Arabian tale. The dangers, however, of assuming a Spanish Thousand and One Nights are considerable. Whether, too, the lost Spanish version was in prose or verse is not easy to determine. The comparative scarcity of a prose vernacular literature in the thirteenth century would lead us to suspect that it was a poem. In any case, there is considerable support, in the way of external and internal evidence, for de Tressan's positive assertion that he saw a Spanish poem on the subject of the *Cléomadès*.

In brief my conclusions are as follows:—It is extremely probable that the *Cléomadès* and the *Méliacin* had a common source and that this source was a lost Spanish poem; the nearest approach to this Spanish poem is furnished by the Habicht version of the Arabian tale; next in importance to the Habicht version is the Bulak; third and last is the Galland version, which the quoted entries in Galland's diary prove to have been current as a folk-tale. In a subsequent paper I purpose to discuss, in general, the folk-tale analogues of the *Cléomadès*.

H. S. V. JONES.

GOTHIC AND ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES.

(1) GOTHIC *Stilan* IN LATIN.

A DIRECT comparison of the Germanic group of which Goth. *stilan* may be taken as the representative with *στερ-ίσκει* 'robs' is phonetically invalid (see, e. g., Uhlenbeck *got. Woert.*, s. v.), though it may be ultimately true that the root *STEL-* is not alien to the root *STER-*. Stokes (in Fick's *Woert.* II, p. 314) gives what I regard as correct non-Germanic etymons in O. Ir. *slat* 'robbery' (from **stlatto-*) and Lat. *stl-ata* 'piratical ship.' The Latin glossaries amply attest this definition and it should pass without question, unless *stlata* be proved a borrowed word. I would see a further indubitable cognate in *tollit* 'lifts' (cf. the gloss *tollit* 'aufert, adimit,' and Eng. *lifts* 'steals'); *stl-ata* (with suffix like *pirata*?) belongs with *tollit*, both from a root with "movable" s-, s)TEL-/s)TOL-. The gloss *stlattarius* 'portator armorum,' if correctly transmitted, attests the sense of *tollit* generalized as in *tulit* 'portavit.'

Further cognates I would find in Lat. *mu(s)-stela* 'weasel' ('mouse-thief'), *stelio* (*stellio*) 'rogue'¹ and, in juridical Latin—of uncertain age but probably archaic—*stelionatus* (suffix as in *peculatus*?), glossed by 'crimen, quando una res duobus venditur, quomodo huius raptus huius speculatus' (? read *peculatus*), and further by *ἐπίθεις* ('imposture') ἡ *χλεύη* ('jest'), and *κακουργία*.

The word *stelio* 'rogue' is attested by Pliny, N. H., 30, 89,

¹[Walde in his etymological Latin lexicon has also correlated *stelio* and Gothic *stilan*, but as the above essay was in the hands of Professor Karsten fully two years ago, I think it right to let my paragraph stand unchanged. Proofnote, Jan. 10, 1907.]

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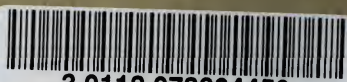
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